

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 071571 TOSEC 030172
ORIGIN NODS-00

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DRAFTED BY D: WARREN CHRISTOPHER
APPROVED BY HE ACTING SECRETARY
S/S - MR. SEBASTIAN

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 071571 TOSEC 030172

NODIS
CHEROKEE/FOR THE SECRETARY FROM CHRISTOPHER

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS)

SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL CONSULTATIONS ON ASSISTANCE FOR
ZAIRE

1. PARAGRAPHS BELOW CONTAIN THE PROPOSED TEXT OF A
MEMORANDUM PREPARED BY AF FOR TRANSMITTAL TO THE WHITE
HOUSE REGARDING CONGRESSIONAL CONSULTATIONS ON ASSIS-
TANCE FOR ZAIRE. THE REACTION IS MIXED AND SOME OF IT
QUITE NEGATIVE. WHILE THE MEMORANDUM RECOMMENDS THAT
WE GO AHEAD WITH THE ADDITIONAL \$1 MILLION AID, I AM
UNCOMFORTABLE ABOUT DOING SO IN THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES,
AND WITHOUT OPPORTUNITY FOR CONSULTATION WITH YOU RE-
GARDING WHAT YOU MAY HAVE LEARNED IN EUROPE. UNLESS
OTHERWISE INSTRUCTED, I WILL HOLD THIS MEMORANDUM UNTIL
YOUR RETURN. -

2. BEGIN TEXT OF MEMO: WE HAVE DISCUSSED THE PROPOSAL
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TO PROVIDE THE ZAIRE GOVERNMENT WITH \$1 MILLION IN POL
PRODUCTS WITH MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND STAFF WHOSE
INTEREST OR JURISDICTIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES PERMIT
THEM TO EXERCISE AN IMPORTANT DEGREE OF INFLUENCE OVER

THIS MATTER (A LIST OF THOSE CONTACTED IS AT TAB 1).
IN GENERAL, THOSE CONTACTED APPRECIATE THAT OF THE TYPES

OF ASSISTANCE POSSIBLE, WE ARE CONSIDERING ONE OF THE LEAST PROVOCATIVE ALTERNATIVES. NONETHELESS, EVEN THOSE WHO FULLY SUPPORT THE PROPOSAL DO SO WITH LITTLE ENTHUSIASM. SOME EXPRESS THE HOPE THAT OUR LEVEL OF ASSISTANCE WILL NOT GO BEYOND POL, OTHERS CONDITION THEIR SUPPORT BY URGING THE ADMINISTRATION TO EXPLAIN MORE FULLY OUR POLICY DIRECTION AND THE TOTAL LEVEL OF ASSISTANCE NEEDED TO FULFILL OUR GOAL, AND OTHERS ARE STRONGLY OPPOSED, EXPRESSING GREAT CONCERN THAT THE LIMITED AID WE PROVIDE MIGHT NOT ONLY BE INEFFECTIVE BUT ALSO DRAW US MORE DEEPLY INTO THE CONFLICT ON THE SIDE OF A GOVERNMENT WHICH IS NOT POPULAR IN AFRICA.

3. THOSE MOST KNOWLEDGEABLE OF THE GENERAL SITUATION WANT TO KNOW THE EXACT STATUS OF PRESIDENT MOBUTU'S DEFENSE EFFORT AND THE THREAT TO THE COPPER MINES IN THE SHABA AREA. THESE INDIVIDUALS ARE CLEARLY TRYING TO ASCERTAIN WHETHER MOBUTU HAS BECOME A LOST CAUSE. CONGRESSMAN ZABLOCKI'S ATTITUDES BEST MIRROR THIS CONCERN. HE IS SAID TO FEEL THAT "THE MINIMUM WE WILL GET OUT OF THIS IS THE OVERTHROW OF MOBUTU" (MEANING THAT THE MOST WE CAN HOPE TO ACCOMPLISH IS THE PRESERVATION OF ZAIRE AS A SOVEREIGN AND VIABLE ENTITY, BUT WITH A NEW GOVERNMENT).

4. SENATOR CLARK AND CONGRESSMAN BUCHANAN WERE BOTH CONCERNED THAT, WHATEVER OUR LEVEL OF ASSISTANCE, FURTHER IDENTIFICATION WITH THE UNPOPULAR ZAIRE GOVERNMENT WILL UNDERMINE OUR BROADER INTERESTS IN AFRICA. IN A SECRET

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STATEMENT PREPARED BY HIS STAFF, DICK CLARK SAID: "IF I WERE CONFIDENT THAT THESE MATERIALS REPRESENTED A LIMITED COMMITMENT TO A REGIME THAT COULD EFFECTIVELY UTILIZE THEM, THEN I WOULD FEEL LESS CONCERNED OVER PROVISION OF AID TO ZAIRE. HOWEVER, I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THIS REQUEST FOR PETROLEUM PRODUCTS WILL BE USED EFFECTIVELY."

5. AMONG THOSE RELUCTANTLY APPROVING, CONGRESSMEN DIGGS, SOLARZ, WHALEN, AND BONKER INDICATED THEY MAY WELL WITHDRAW THEIR SUPPORT IF THE ADMINISTRATION FAILS TO EXPLAIN MORE FULLY THE DIRECTION OF OUR POLICY AND HOW FAR WE PLAN TO GO IN KEEPING THE MOBUTU GOVERNMENT IN POWER. IN DIGGS' WORDS: "PIECEMEALING JUST WON'T DO."

6. THOSE MOST SUPPORTIVE SEEMED TO ENDORSE THE PROPOSAL AS A "LEAST WORST" ALTERNATIVE AND WERE WILLING TO DEFER TO THE ADMINISTRATION'S JUDGMENT THAT LIMITED AID WOULD BE EFFECTIVE IN ENCOURAGING A NEGOTIATED

SETTLEMENT. SENATOR INOUE, FOR EXAMPLE, SIMPLY WANTED TO BE ASSURED "THAT WE HAVE THE MONEY." SENATOR SCHWEIKER SAID THAT HE FELT IT WAS A "MODEST REQUEST" AND THAT PETROLEUM "IS PROBABLY THE LEAST OBJECTIONABLE OF THE OPTIONS AVAILABLE." DICK MCCALL, SENATOR HUMPHREY'S STAFF AIDE, SAID THAT HIS BOSS WOULD NOT OBJECT "SO LONG AS THERE IS NO GREAT INFLUX OF WEAPONS AND MATERIEL." HOWEVER, BILL JORDAN, STAFF DIRECTOR OF THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS FOREIGN OPERATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE QUESTIONED THE CHOICE OF "SOMETHING SO IDENTIFIABLE WITH AMERICAN NEEDS", I.E., PETROLEUM. BILL JACKSON OF SENATOR CRANSTON'S STAFF WAS SUSPICIOUS THAT "THERE MUST BE SOMETHING I DON'T SEE."

7. ON BALANCE, WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE RESPONSES PRECLUDE US FROM GOING AHEAD WITH THE PROPOSAL. WE THEREFORE RECOMMEND THAT WE PROCEED WITH ITS
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IMPLEMENTATION. END TEXT OF MEMO.
CHRISTOPHER

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